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DECEMBER, 1914, No. 85

American Association for International Conciliation
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New York City

The Executive Committee of the Association for International Conciliation wish to arouse the interest of the American people in the progress of the movement for promoting international peace and relations of comity and good fellowship between nations. To this end they print and circulate documents giving information as to the progress or interruption of these movements, in order that individual citizens, the newspaper press, and organizations of various kinds may have readily available accurate information on these subjects. A list of publications will be found on page 38.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S APPEAL FOR IMPARTIALITY AND RESTRAINT IN DIS- CUSSING THE WAR

MY FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: I suppose that every thoughtful man in America has asked himself during the last troubled weeks what influence the European war may exert upon the United States, and I take the liberty of addressing a few words to you in order to point out that it is entirely within our own choice what its effects upon us will be and to urge very earnestly upon you the sort of speech and conduct which will best safeguard the nation against distress and disaster.

The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say or do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. The spirit of the nation in this critical matter will be determined largely by what individuals and society and those gathered in public meetings do and say, upon what newspapers and magazines contain, upon what our ministers utter in their pulpits and men proclaim as their opinions on the streets.

The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy and desire among them with regard to the issues and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others another, to succeed in the momentous struggle. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility; responsibility for no less a thing than that the people of the United States, whose love of their country and whose loyalty to its Government should unite them as Americans all, bound in honor and affection to think first of her and her interests, may be divided in camps of hostile opinions, hot against each other, involved in the war itself in impulse and opinion, if not in action. Such diversions among us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend.

I venture, therefore, my fellow-countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning to you against that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides. The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another.

My thought is of America. I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and in our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action, a nation that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world.

Shall we not resolve to put upon ourselves the restraint which will bring to our people the happiness and the great and lasting influence for peace we covet for them?

WOODROW WILSON.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 18, 1914.

I

THE NEUTRALITY OF BELGIUM AND LUXEMBURG

INTRODUCTION

The neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg has been guaranteed at different times by the larger European powers now unfortunately at war, and the duties of belligerents, including that of the inviolability of neutral territory, have been formally recognized by the powers represented at the Second Hague Peace Conference.

First as to the specific treaties of European powers. On November 15, 1831, a treaty was signed between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Belgium, relative to the separation of Belgium from Holland. Article VII thereof decrees the neutrality of Belgium, and by Article XXV thereof the five powers "guarantee to His Majesty the King of the Belgians, the execution of all the preceding Articles." Article VII, which appears without change in the succeeding treaties, is as follows:

Belgium, within the limits specified in Articles I, II, and IV, shall form an independent and perpetually neutral State. It shall be bound to observe such neutrality towards all other States.

It will be noted that Holland was not a party to this treaty, as its king was at that time unwilling to acknowledge the independence of Belgium.

On April 19, 1839, a treaty was concluded between the Netherlands and Belgium, by which the former country recognized the independence of the latter, thus dissolving the union between Holland and Belgium created by the Treaty of Vienna of May 30, 1815. The seventh article of this treaty is the same as the corresponding article of the treaty of 1831 and of the subsequent treaties.

On the same date (April 19, 1839) a treaty was concluded between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia and Russia, on the one hand, and the Netherlands, on the other, recognizing the independence and neutrality of Belgium; and an identical treaty was concluded between the five powers, on the one hand, and Belgium, on the other, to which was annexed the treaty of even date between the five powers and Holland, Article VII of which neutralizes Belgium. The first article of this treaty declares that "they (the articles of the treaty between the Netherlands and Belgium) are thus placed under the guarantee of their said Majesties." The essential difference between the treaty of November 15, 1831, and the series of treaties between the five powers, on the one hand, and the Netherlands and Belgium, on the other, is that, whereas in the first treaty an express guarantee was made to Belgium of its neutrality, in the latter treaties the guarantee is general.

It will be noted that the Germanic Confederation on April 19, 1839, acceded to Articles I to VII, inclusive, of the Treaties of April 19, 1839, and that this accession was accepted by the parties to such treaties. The

importance of this fact is that not merely Prussia and Austria guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium, but that all of the German States, including Prussia and Austria, did so.

In 1870 Great Britain feared that France or Germany might violate the neutrality of Belgium, and for this reason Great Britain concluded a treaty with Prussia, on August 9, 1870, and a treaty with France, on August 11, 1870, by the terms of which Prussia and France agreed to observe the neutrality of Belgium, and Great Britain pledged itself in case of a violation of neutrality by either of these countries to use force against the Power so violating the neutrality.

It will be observed that these treaties confirm the quintuple treaty of 1839 and that "without impairing or invalidating the conditions of the said quintuple treaty," they "shall be subsidiary and accessory to it."

Passing now to Luxemburg, it appears that Napoleon III, Emperor of France, expected the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, of which the King of the Netherlands was at that time Grand Duke, as the price of his neutrality in the war of 1866 between Prussia and Austria. To this Austria objected, and proposed that the Grand Duchy should be neutralized as Belgium had been, and that its fortifications be destroyed. This proposal was agreed to, and a treaty was signed at London, on May 11, 1867, between Great Britain, Austria, Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Prussia and Russia, recognizing the neutrality of Luxemburg, and placing it under their collective guaranty. Belgium as a neutral state was not a guarantor of this treaty.

In addition to the above treaties, neutralizing Belgium and Luxemburg, there is a Convention of the Second Hague Peace Conference of 1907, which deals with the subject in general. It is entitled the Convention Respecting the Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers and Persons in Case of War on Land. The following are the material articles:

The territory of neutral powers is inviolable. (Article I.)

Belligerents are forbidden to move troops or convoys of either munitions of war or supplies across the territory of a neutral power. (Article II.)

A neutral power must not allow any of the acts referred to in Article 2 to 4 to occur on its territory. (Article V.)

The fact of a neutral power resisting, even by force, attempts to violate its neutrality can not be regarded as a hostile act. (Article X.)

These articles were unanimously adopted by the Conference and were signed and ratified by Germany, the United States, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France and other countries. Great Britain signed, but has not ratified the convention, as it objected to Articles XVI, XVII and XVIII thereof, which do not concern the present question. Likewise Servia and Montenegro have signed, but have not ratified the convention. Article XX states that "the provisions of the present convention do not apply except between contracting powers, and then only if all the belligerents are parties to the convention." This provision, however, does not justify the violation of Belgian territory by Germany on the morning of August 4, because at that time the powers with which Germany was at war had ratified the convention. Germany was not then at war with Great Britain, a non-contracting power, and it declared war two days later (August 6) against Servia.

**TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN, AUSTRIA, FRANCE,
PRUSSIA, AND AUSTRIA, ON THE ONE PART AND
BELGIUM ON THE OTHER.—SIGNED AT LONDON,
APRIL 19, 1839.***

In the Name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, His Majesty the King of the French, His Majesty the King of Prussia, and His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, taking into consideration, as well as His Majesty the King of the Belgians, their Treaty concluded at London on the 15th of November, 1831, as well as the Treaties signed this day, between their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the King of the French, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of All the Russias, on the one part, and His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, on the other part, and between His Majesty the King of the Belgians and His said Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, their said Majesties have named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say: * * *

Who, after having communicated to each other their Full Powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:

**Articles annexed to have same Force as the Treaty. Guarantee of the
Five Powers**

ART. I. Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, His Majesty the King of the French, His Majesty the King of Prussia, and His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, declare, that the Article hereunto annexed, and forming the tenor of the Treaty concluded this day between His Majesty the King of the Belgians and His Majesty the King of Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxemburg,† are considered as having the same force and validity as if they were textually inserted in the present Act, and that they are thus placed under the Guarantee of their said Majesties.

(1) Article VII. Belgium, within the limits specified in Articles I, II, and IV, shall form an Independent and perpetually Neutral State. It shall be bound to observe such Neutrality towards all other States. [Treaty of April 19, 1839].

**Treaty of 15th November, 1831, not obligatory upon High Contracting
Parties**

ART. II. The Treaty of the 15th of November, 1831, between their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland,

* See also Treaties of 5th November, 1842; 8th August, 1843; 11th May, 1867; and 9th and 11th August, 1871.

† See page 994.

the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the King of the French, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of All the Russias, and His Majesty the King of the Belgians, is declared not to be obligatory upon the High Contracting Parties.

Ratifications

ART. III. The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the Ratifications shall be exchanged at London at the expiration of 6 weeks, or sooner if possible. This exchange shall take place the same time as that of the Ratifications of the Treaty between Belgium and Holland.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty, and have affixed thereto the Seal of their Arms.

Done at London, the 19th day of April, in the year of Our Lord, 1839.
(L. S.) SYLVAIN VAN DE WEYER.

(L. S.) PALMERSTON

(L. S.) SENFFT

(L. S.) H. SEBASTIANI

(L. S.) BULOW

(L. S.) POZZO DI BORGIO.

Map of Europe by Treaty
Hertslet, Vol II, pp. 996-998

**ACT OF ACCESSION ON THE PART OF THE GERMANIC
CONFEDERATION TO THE TERRITORIAL AR-
RANGEMENTS CONCERNING THE GRAND DUCHY
OF LUXEMBURG, LAID DOWN IN THE TREATY
OF APRIL 19, 1839.—LONDON, APRIL 19, 1839.***

The Plenipotentiaries of the Courts of Great Britain, Austria, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Prussia, and Russia, having this day signed the Treaties concluded between the five Courts and His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, between their Majesties the King of the Belgians and the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, and between the five Courts and His Majesty the King of the Belgians, the Plenipotentiaries have deemed it expedient that the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia, invested with Full Powers from the Diet of the Germanic Confederation, should be invited to accede in the name of the said Confederation, to the arrangements concerning the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, which are contained in the Treaties above mentioned.

In consequence, the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia, representing the Diet in virtue of the said Full Powers, declare that the Germanic Confederation formally accedes to the territorial arrangements concerning the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, which are contained in Article I, II, III, IV, V, VI, and VII, of the Annex to the Treaties this day concluded between the five Courts and His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, and between the 5 Courts and His Majesty the King of the Belgians, as well as in the corresponding Articles of the Treaty signed at the same time between His Majesty the King of the Belgians and His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxemburg. And they take towards the Courts of Great Britain, Austria, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Prussia and Russia, in the name of the Germanic Confederation, the engagement that the Confederation will entirely conform to the stipulations contained in the said Articles, which are hereinafter inserted word for word, so far as they concern the Germanic Confederation.

[Here follow the first 7 Articles of the Annex to the two preceding Treaties.]†

The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Austria, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Prussia, and Russia, in virtue of their Full Powers, formally accept, in the name of their respective Courts, the said Accession on the part of the Germanic Confederation.

The present Act of Accession shall be ratified by the Courts of Great Britain, Austria, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Prussia and Russia, and also by the Germanic Confederation, by means of a Decree of the Diet,

* See also Treaty of 11th May, 1867.

† Article VII. Belgium, within the limits specified in Articles I, II, and IV, shall form an independent and perpetually Neutral State. It shall be bound to observe such Neutrality toward all other States.

of which the requisite number of copies shall be prepared. And the respective Acts of Ratification shall be exchanged at London at the expiration of 6 weeks from this date, or sooner if possible, and at the same time as the exchange of the Ratifications of the 3 Treaties above mentioned.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Act of Accession, and have affixed thereto the Seal of their Arms.

Done at London, the 19th day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1839.

(L. S.) PALMERSTON.

(L. S.) SENFFT.

(L. S.) SENFFT.

(L. S.) BULOW.

(L. S.) SYLVAIN VAN DE WEYER.

(L. S.) H. SEBASTIANI.

(L. S.) DEDEL.

(L. S.) BULOW.

(L. S.) POZZO DI BORGO.

**TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND PRUSSIA,
RELATIVE TO THE INDEPENDENCE AND NEU-
TRALITY OF BELGIUM.—SIGNED AT LONDON,
AUGUST, 9, 1870.***

[Ratifications exchanged at London, August 26, 1870.]

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the King of Prussia, being desirous at the present time of recording in a solemn Act their fixed determination to maintain the independence and neutrality of Belgium, as provided in Article VII of the Treaty signed at London on the 19th of April, 1839, between Belgium and the Netherlands, which Article was declared by the Quintuple Treaty of 1839 to be considered as having the same force and value as if textually inserted in the said Quintuple Treaty, their said Majesties have determined to conclude between themselves a separate Treaty, which, without impairing or invalidating the conditions of the said Quintuple Treaty, shall be subsidiary and accessory to it; and they have accordingly named as their Plenipotentiaries for that purpose, that is to say:

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Granville George Earl Granville, Lord Leveson, a Peer of the United Kingdom, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, a Member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle, Chancellor of the University of London, Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs:

And His Majesty the King of Prussia, his Excellency the Minister of State, Albert Count of Bernstorff-Stintenburg, Grand Cross of the Order of the Red Eagle with Oak Leaves, and Grand Commander of the Royal Order of the House of Hohenzollern in Diamonds, &c., Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty from his said Majesty for the North German Confederation:

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:

ART. I. His Majesty the King of Prussia having declared that, notwithstanding the hostilities in which the North German Confederation is engaged with France, it is his fixed determination to respect the neutrality of Belgium, so long as the same shall be respected by France, Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on her part declares that, if during the said hostilities the armies of France should violate that neutrality, she will be prepared to co-operate with His Prussian Majesty for the defence of the same in such manner as may be mutually agreed upon, employing for that purpose her naval and military forces to

* British and Foreign State Papers, Vol. 60, pp. 13-17.

insure its observance, and to maintain, in conjunction with His Prussian Majesty, then and thereafter, the independence and neutrality of Belgium.

It is clearly understood that Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland does not engage herself by this Treaty to take part in any of the general operations of the war now carried on between the North German Confederation and France, beyond the limits of Belgium, as defined in the Treaty between Belgium and the Netherlands of April 19, 1839.

II. His Majesty the King of Prussia agrees on his part, in the event provided for in the foregoing Article, to co-operate with Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, employing his naval and military forces for the purpose aforesaid; and, the case arising, to concert with Her Majesty the measures which shall be taken, separately or in common, to secure the neutrality and independence of Belgium.

III. This Treaty shall be binding on the High Contracting Parties during the continuance of the present war between the North German Confederation and France, and for 12 months after the ratification of any Treaty of Peace concluded between those Parties; and on the expiration of that time the independence and neutrality of Belgium will, so far as the High Contracting Parties are respectively concerned, continue to rest as heretofore on Article I of the Quintuple Treaty of the 19th of April, 1839.

IV. The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at London as soon as possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at London, the 9th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1870.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE.

(L. S.) BERNSTORFF.

**TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE,
RELATIVE TO THE INDEPENDENCE AND NEU-
TRALITY OF BELGIUM.—SIGNED AT LONDON,
AUGUST 11, 1870.***

[Ratifications exchanged at London, August 26, 1870.]

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of the French, being desirous at the present time of recording in a solemn Act their fixed determination to maintain the independence and neutrality of Belgium, as provided by Article VII of the Treaty signed at London on the 19th of April, 1839, between Belgium and the Netherlands, which Article was declared by the Quintuple Treaty of 1839 to be considered as having the same force and value as if textually in the said Quintuple Treaty, their said Majesties have determined to conclude between themselves a separate Treaty, which, without impairing or invalidating the conditions of the said Quintuple Treaty, shall be subsidiary and accessory to it; and they have accordingly named as their Plenipotentiaries for the purpose, that is to say:

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Granville George Earl Granville, Lord Leveson, a Peer of the United Kingdom, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, a Member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle, Chancellor of the University of London, Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

And His Majesty the Emperor of the French, His Excellency the Marquis de la Valette, a Member of His Privy Council, a Senator, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, His Ambassador to Her Britannic Majesty;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:

ART. I. His Majesty the Emperor of the French having declared that, notwithstanding the hostilities in which France is now engaged with the North German Confederation and its Allies, it is his fixed determination to respect the neutrality of Belgium, so long as the same shall be respected by the North German Confederation and its Allies, Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on her part declares that, if during the said hostilities the armies of the North German Confederation and its Allies should violate that neutrality, she will be prepared to co-operate with His Imperial Majesty for the defence of the same in such manner as may be mutually agreed upon, employing for that purpose her naval and military forces to insure its observance, and to maintain, in con-

* British and Foreign State Papers, Vol. 60, pp. 10-13.

junction with His Imperial Majesty, then and thereafter, the independence and neutrality of Belgium.

It is clearly understood that Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland does not engage herself by this Treaty to take part in any of the general operations of the war now carried on between France and the North German Confederation and its Allies, beyond the limits of Belgium, as defined in the Treaty between Belgium and the Netherlands of April 19, 1839.

II. His Majesty the Emperor of the French agrees on his part, in the event provided for in the foregoing Article, to co-operate with Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, employing his naval and military forces for the purpose aforesaid; and, the case arising, to concert with Her Majesty the measures which shall be taken, separately or in common, to secure the neutrality and independence of Belgium.

III. This Treaty shall be binding on the High Contracting Parties during the continuance of the present war between France and the North German Confederation and its Allies, and for 12 months after the ratification of any Treaty of Peace concluded between those Parties; and on the expiration of that time the independence and neutrality of Belgium will, so far as the High Contracting Parties are respectively concerned, continue to rest, as heretofore, on Article I of the Quintuple Treaty of the 19th of April, 1839.

IV. The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at London as soon as possible.

In witness whereof the respect[ive] Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at London, the 11th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1870.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE.

(L. S.) LA VALETTE.

TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN, AUSTRIA, BELGIUM, FRANCE, ITALY, THE NETHERLANDS, PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA, RELATIVE TO THE GRAND DUCHY OF LUXEMBURG AND THE DUCHY OF LIMBURG.—SIGNED AT LONDON, MAY 11, 1867.*

In the Name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity.

His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, taking into consideration the change produced in the situation of the Grand Duchy in consequence of the dissolution of the ties by which it was attached to the late Germanic Confederation, has invited Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the King of the Belgians, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of All the Russias, to assemble their Representatives in Conference at London, in order to come to an understanding, with the Plenipotentiaries of His Majesty the King, Grand Duke, as to the new arrangements to be made in the general interest of Peace.

And Their said Majesties, after having accepted that invitation, have resolved, by common consent, to respond to the desire manifested by His Majesty the King of Italy to take part in a deliberation destined to offer a new pledge of security for the maintenance of the general tranquillity.

In consequence, Their Majesties, in concert with His Majesty the King of Italy, wishing to conclude a Treaty with a view to that object, have named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:—

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Edward Stanley, commonly called Lord Stanley, a Member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, a Member of Parliament, her Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Sieur Rudolph Count Apponyi, Chamberlain and Privy Councillor of His Imperial Royal and Apostolic Majesty, his Ambassador Extraordinary to Her Britannic Majesty, &c.;

His Majesty the King of the Belgians, the Sieur Sylvain Van de Weyer, Minister of State, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty, &c.;

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, the Sieur Godfrey Bernard Henry Alphonse, Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne Lauraguais, his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty, &c.;

His Majesty the King of Italy, the Sieur Emmanuel Taparelli de Lagnasco, Marquis d'Azeglio, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty, &c.;

* See Declarations of France and Prussia of 17th July, 1870.

His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, the Sieur Adolphus Baron Bentinck, his Chamberlain and Minister of State, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty, &c.; the Baron Victor de Tornaco, Minister of State, President of the Government of the Grand Duchy, his Honorary Chamberlain, &c.; and the Sieur Emanuel Servais, Vice-President of the Council of State and of the Superior Court of Justice, formerly Member of the Government, &c.;

His Majesty the King of Prussia, the Sieur Albert Count de Bernstorff-Stintenburg, his Minister of State and Chamberlain, his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty, &c.;

And His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, the Sieur Philip Baron de Brunnow, his Actual Privy Councillor, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty, &c.;

Who, after having exchanged their Full Powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Maintenance of Rights of the House of Orange-Nassau

ART. I. His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, maintains the ties which attach the said Grand Duchy to the House of Orange-Nassau, in virtue of the Treaties which placed that State under the Sovereignty of the King Grand Duke, his descendants and successors.

The Rights which the Agnates of the House of Nassau possess with regard to the Succession of the Grand Duchy, in virtue of the same Treaties, are maintained.

The High Contracting Parties accept the present Declaration, and place it upon record.

Grand Duchy to form a Perpetual Neutral State under Guarantee of Contracting Parties

ART. II. The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, within the Limits determined by the Act annexed to the Treaties of the 19th April, 1839, under the Guarantee of the Courts of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia, shall henceforth form a perpetually Neutral State.

It shall be bound to observe the same Neutrality towards all other States.

The High Contracting Parties engage to respect the principle of Neutrality stipulated by the present Article.

That principle is and remains placed under the sanction of the collective Guarantee of the Powers signing Parties to the present Treaty, with the exception of Belgium, which is itself a Neutral State.

Luxemburg to cease to be a Fortified City. Troops to be maintained by the King Grand Duke.

ART. III. The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg being Neutralised, according to the terms of the preceding Article, the maintenance, or establishment

of Fortresses upon its Territory becomes without necessity as well as without object.

In consequence, it is agreed by common consent that the City of Luxemburg, considered in time past, in a military point of view, as a Federal Fortress, shall cease to be a fortified city.

His Majesty the King Grand Duke reserves to himself to maintain in that city the number of troops necessary to provide in it for the maintenance of good order.

Evacuation of Fortress of Luxemburg by Prussian Troops

ART. IV. In conformity with the stipulations contained in Articles II and III, His Majesty the King of Prussia declares that his troops actually in garrison in the Fortress of Luxemburg shall receive orders to proceed to the Evacuation of that place immediately after the exchange of the Ratifications of the present Treaty. The withdrawal of the artillery, munitions, and every object which forms part of the equipment of the said Fortress shall commence simultaneously. During that operation there shall remain in it no more than the number of troops necessary to provide for the safety of the material of war, and to effect the dispatch thereof, which shall be completed within the shortest time possible.

Demolition of Fortress of Luxemburg by the Netherlands

ART. V. His Majesty the King Grand Duke, in virtue of the rights of Sovereignty which he exercises over the City and Fortress of Luxemburg, engages, on his part, to take the necessary measures for converting the said Fortress into an open city by means of a demolition which His Majesty shall deem sufficient to fulfill the intentions of the High Contracting Parties expressed in Article III of the present Treaty. The works requisite for that purpose shall be commenced immediately after the withdrawal of the garrison. They shall be carried out with all the attention required for the interests of the inhabitants of the city.

Fortifications not to be Restored

His Majesty the King Grand Duke promises, moreover, that the Fortifications of the city of Luxemburg shall not be restored in future, and that no Military Establishment shall be there maintained or created.

Duchy of Limburg to form an integral part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands

ART. VI. The Powers signing Parties to the present Treaty recognise that the Dissolution of the Germanic Confederation having equally produced the Dissolution of the ties which united the Duchy of Limburg, collectively with the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, to the said Confederation, it results therefrom that the relations, of which mention is made in Articles III, IV, and V of the Treaty of the 19th April, 1839, between the Grand Duchy and certain Territories belonging to the Duchy of Limburg, have ceased to exist, the said Territories continuing to form an integral part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Ratifications*

ART. VII. The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the Ratifications shall be exchanged at London within the space of 4 weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the Seals of their Arms.

Done at London, the 11th day of May, in the year of Our Lord, 1867.

(L. S.) STANLEY.
(L. S.) APPONYI.
(L. S.) VAN DE WEYER.
(L. S.) LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
(L. S.) D'AZEGLIO.
(L. S.) BENTINCK.
(L. S.) TORNACO.
(L. S.) E. SERVAIS.
(L. S.) BERNSTORFF.
(L. S.) BRUNNOW.

(During the War between France and Prussia in 1870, 1871, those Powers mutually engaged to respect the Neutrality of Luxemburg.)

* Ratifications exchanged at London, 31st May, 1867.
The Map of Europe by Treaty,
Hertslet, Vol. III, pp. 1801-1805.

CONVENTION RESPECTING THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NEUTRAL POWERS AND PERSONS IN CASE OF WAR ON LAND.

CHAPTER I.—THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NEUTRAL POWERS

ARTICLE I

The territory of neutral Powers is inviolable.

ARTICLE II

Belligerents are forbidden to move troops or convoys of either munitions of war or supplies across the territory of a neutral Power.

ARTICLE III

Belligerents are likewise forbidden to:

(a) Erect on the territory of a neutral Power a wireless telegraphy station or other apparatus for the purpose of communicating with belligerent forces on land or sea;

(b) Use any installation of this kind established by them before the war on the territory of a neutral Power for purely military purposes, and which has not been opened for the service of public messages.

ARTICLE IV

Corps of combatants cannot be formed nor recruiting agencies opened on the territory of a neutral Power to assist the belligerents.

ARTICLE V

A neutral Power must not allow any of the acts referred to in Articles II to IV to occur on its territory.

It is not called upon to punish acts in violation of its neutrality unless the said acts have been committed on its own territory.

* * * * *

ARTICLE X

The fact of a neutral Power resisting, even by force, attempts to violate its neutrality cannot be regarded as a hostile act.

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CHAPTER V.—FINAL PROVISIONS

ARTICLE XX

The provisions of the present Convention do not apply except between Contracting Powers, and then only if all the belligerents are parties to the Convention.

II

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL TO THE FRENCH SENATE AUGUST 4, 1914.

Translated by Theodore Henckels

Gentlemen, after having notified us of the existence of a state of war, the German Ambassador left Paris yesterday.

It is incumbent upon the government to lay before Parliament the true account of the events which in less than ten days have led to the European war and compelled peaceful and sturdy France to defend her frontier against an aggression whose premeditated suddenness emphasizes the odious injustice of it.

This aggression that nothing can excuse and that had already been started before any declaration of war had reached us, is the final act in a plan, the origin and purpose of which I mean to lay before our democracy and the public opinion of the civilized world.

In the train of the abominable crime which brought about the death of the Arch-Duke and heir of Austria-Hungary and of the Duchess of Hohenberg, certain difficulties arose between the cabinets of Vienna and Belgrade.

A majority of the powers were only semi-officially informed of this fact on Friday, July 24, when the Austro-Hungarian Ambassadors forwarded to them a circular which has been reprinted in the public press.

It was the object of this circular to explain and justify an ultimatum which the envoy of Austria-Hungary, accredited to Belgrade, had on the previous day addressed to Servia.

Affirming the complicity of numerous Servian citizens and associations in the crime of Serajevo, this ultimatum insinuated that the official Servian authorities themselves had had a hand in the act. It demanded an answer from Servia by six o'clock P. M., Saturday, July 25.

The satisfactions exacted, or some of them at least, incontestably assailed the rights of a sovereign state; despite their excessive nature, Servia on July 25 declared almost unreservedly her readiness to comply with them.

The counsels of France, of Russia, and of Great Britain offered to Belgrade from the beginning had had a part in this compliance, which meant a diplomatic success for Austria-Hungary and a guarantee for European peace.

These counsels were all the more important because the Austro-Hungarian demands had been concealed from the chancellories of the Triple Entente, to which, within the previous three weeks, the Austro-Hungarian government had repeatedly given assurances that these demands would be extremely moderate.

The cabinets of Paris, of St. Petersburg and of London were therefore justly astounded when on July 26 they learned that the Austrian Minister

at Belgrade had, after an examination of a few minutes, declared the Servian answer unacceptable, and broken off diplomatic relations.

This unexpected action was aggravated by the fact that as early as Friday, July 24, the German Ambassador had come to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to whom he read a verbal note stating that the Austro-Servian conflict must be localized without the intervention of the great powers, or otherwise there would be cause to fear "incalculable consequences." Similar steps were taken on Saturday, the 25th, at London and at St. Petersburg.

Gentlemen: is it necessary to point out to you in what measure the threatening words used by the German Empire at Paris were in contrast with the conciliating sentiments of which the powers of the Triple Entente had just given proof by advising Servia to comply with the demands presented? Without further discussing the abnormal nature of the step taken by Germany, we did, nevertheless, in agreement with our allies and our friends immediately engage in conciliatory negotiations by inviting Germany to take part therein.

From the beginning we regretfully realized that our dispositions and our efforts were not reciprocated at Berlin.

Not only did Germany in no way appear disposed to give to Austria-Hungary such friendly advice as her position entitled her to, but from that very moment and even more so in the days following, she seemed to interpose herself between Vienna and the propositions for negotiations made on the part of the other powers.

On Tuesday, July 28, Austria-Hungary declared war against Servia. This declaration, which aggravated the state of affairs created by the rupture of diplomatic relations forty-eight hours previously, gave reason to believe that war had been premeditated and a systematic program had been evolved with a view to subjugating Servia.

Not only the independence of a sturdy people, but the balance of power in the Balkans, inscribed in the treaty of Bucharest of 1913 and approved by the moral adhesion of all the great powers, were thus put in jeopardy.

At the suggestion of the British government, ever conscientiously endeavoring to maintain European peace, the negotiations were nevertheless carried forward, or to be more exact, the powers of the Triple Entente endeavored to carry them forward. From this common desire issued the proposition of a four-fold action by England, France, Germany, and Italy for the purpose of reaching an equitable settlement of the conflict, and of assuring to Austria compliance with every legitimate demand she had made. When on Wednesday, July 29, the Russian government realized the persistent check to these endeavors, and in view of the Austrian mobilization and declaration of war feared that Servia would be crushed by the Austrian army, that government decided by way of precaution to mobilize her troops in four military districts, that is to say, to form a military cordon along the Austro-Hungarian frontier exclusively.

In doing this Russia took care, however, to inform the German government that this limited measure of no offensive character with regard to Austria was also in no way directed against Germany.

In the conversation which he had with the Russian Ambassador at Berlin, the German Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs acknowledged this fact forthwith.

On the other hand, everything Great Britain attempted to do with the adhesion of Russia and the support of France, to bring Austria and Servia together under the moral patronage of Europe met at Berlin with the opposition of an irreconcilable attitude, of which the absolute proof is disclosed in the diplomatic correspondence.

This was a disquieting state of affairs, indicating that very probably Berlin was making certain mental reservations. A few hours later these suppositions and fears were to be transformed into certainties.

Indeed, within thirty-six hours the negative attitude of Germany was replaced by justly alarming measures. In declaring the state of war on July 31, Germany cut off communication between herself and the rest of Europe, and under the veil of absolute secrecy undertook military operations against France which, as appears from what I have stated, nothing could justify.

For several days, and in a situation which it is difficult to explain, Germany had already been preparing to transform her army from the peace to the war footing.

As early as the morning of July 25, that is to say, even before the expiration of the time limit granted to Servia by Austria, Germany had issued instructions to the garrisons in Alsace-Lorraine. On the same day she had provided ammunition for the fortified positions near the frontier. On the 26th she had issued to the railroads preparatory instructions with a view to the concentration of their rolling stock. On the 27th she had effected all requisitions and placed her covering troops. On the 28th individual appeals to reservists had been sent out and those far removed from the frontier had been brought nearer.

Could all these measures, prosecuted with an unrelenting thoroughness, leave any doubts regarding the intentions of Germany?

This was the state of affairs when, on the evening of July 31, the German government, which since the 24th had by no positive act participated in the conciliatory endeavors of the Triple Entente, addressed an ultimatum to the Russian government on the pretext that Russia had ordered a general mobilization of her armies, and it demanded that within the space of twelve hours an end should be brought to this mobilization.

This demand, all the more insulting in its form because only a few hours before Emperor Nicholas II had requested the mediation of the German Emperor, an act of spontaneous trustfulness, was made at the very moment when, upon the request of England and with the knowledge of Germany, the Russian government had accepted a proposition which was intended to prepare for a friendly adjustment of the Austro-Servian conflict and the Austro-Russian difficulties through the simultaneous stopping of all military operations and preparations.

This unfriendly measure toward Russia was on the same day followed by acts plainly hostile toward France, stoppage of all railway, telegraph and telephone communication, seizure of French railway engines upon their arrival at the frontier, placing of mitrailleuses in the middle of the railway track, which had been torn up, and concentration of troops on the frontier.

From this moment we could no longer believe in the sincerity of the pacific assurances which the representative of Germany persisted in giving us.

We knew that under the mask of the state of war which she had declared, Germany was mobilizing her army.

We learned that six classes of the reserves had been called to the colors and that the transportation stock to facilitate the concentration of these forces was ordered made ready for army corps stationed at a great distance from the frontier.

As these events proceeded, our government, alert and vigilant, took from day to day and from hour to hour those safeguarding measures made necessary by the situation; the general mobilization of our land and sea forces was ordered.

That same evening at 7:30 o'clock, and regardless of the acceptance by the St. Petersburg cabinet of the English proposition to which I have already referred, Germany declared war against Russia.

The following morning, Sunday, August 2, regardless of the extreme moderation of France, contrary to the pacific declarations of the German Ambassador at Paris, and in utter contempt of the rules of international law, German troops crossed our frontier at three different points.

At the same time, and in violation of the treaty of 1867, which with the signature of Prussia guaranteed the neutrality of Luxemburg, German troops invaded the territory of the Grand Duchy, thereby justifying the protest made by the Luxemburg government.

And finally the neutrality of Belgium was threatened: the German envoy on the evening of August 2 presented to the Belgian government an ultimatum, requesting it to facilitate in Belgium the military operations of Germany against France, on the false pretext that we were threatening Belgian neutrality. The Belgian government refused to comply, declaring that it was resolved to defend, with energy, a neutrality which was respected by France and guaranteed by a treaty, among the signatories to which was the King of Prussia.

Gentlemen: aggressive acts have ever since been continued, increased and accentuated; at more than fifteen different points our frontier has been violated. Our soldiers and customs officers were fired at, resulting in killed and wounded. Only yesterday a German military aviator dropped three bombs upon Lunéville.

We have communicated these facts to all the great powers, as well as to the German Ambassador, who has neither denied them nor expressed any regret. On the contrary, he came to me last evening to ask for his passports and to notify us of the state of war by declaring, contrary to all truth, that French aviators had committed hostile acts within German territory in the region of the Eiffel and even on the railway from Carlsruhe to Nuremberg. I have his letter with me and I am going to read it to you:

Mr. President:

The German military and administrative authorities have observed a certain number of marked acts of hostility committed by the French military aviators on German territory. Several of these aviators have plainly violated the neutrality of Belgium by flying over the territory of that country. One of them attempted to destroy certain constructions near Wesel, others have been seen over the region of the Eiffel, while still another has dropped bombs on the railway near Carlsruhe and Nuremberg.

I have been directed, and I have the honor to make known to your Excellency, that in the presence of these aggressions the German Empire considers itself at war with France, through acts of the latter power.

At the same time I have the honor to inform your Excellency that the German authorities will hold French merchant vessels in the German ports, but will release them if, within forty-eight hours, complete reciprocity has been assured.

My diplomatic mission having thus been brought to an end, there remains for me to request your Excellency to be good enough to provide me with my passport and to order such measures taken as your Excellency may deem necessary to insure my return to Germany, together with the personnel of the Embassy, the personnel of the Bavarian Legation, and of the Consulate-General of Germany at Paris.

Be kind enough, Mr. President, to accept assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) SCHOEN.

Gentlemen: why is there need of my insisting upon the absurdity of these pretexts, which they would present to us in the guise of grievances? At no time did a French aviator penetrate into Belgium; neither in Bavaria or in any other part of Germany did any French aviator commit any act of hostility. Public opinion in Europe has already done justice to these miserable mendacities.

Against this attack, which violates all the laws of equity and all the rules of public law, we have already taken the necessary measures, which will be most emphatically and calmly carried out.

The mobilization of the Russian army is being likewise prosecuted with remarkable energy and unbounded enthusiasm. The Belgian army, mobilized to the number of 250,000 men, is making ready to defend the neutrality and independence of its country with magnificent ardor.

The English fleet is entirely mobilized and orders have been issued to mobilize the English land forces.

Since the year 1912, communications have been carried on between the English and French general staffs. They had led to an exchange of letters between Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Paul Cambon. The Secretary of State yesterday acquainted the House of Commons with the contents of this correspondence, and with the concurrence of the British government I have the honor to read these two documents to Parliament:

SIR EDWARD GREY TO M. CAMBON

London, Foreign Office, Nov. 22, 1912.

My dear Ambassador:—From time to time in recent years the French and British naval and military experts have consulted together. It has always been understood that such consultation does not restrict the freedom of either Government to decide at any future time whether or not to assist the other by armed force. We have agreed that consultation between experts is not, and

ought not to be regarded as, an engagement that commits either Government to action in a contingency that has not arisen and may never arise. The disposition, for instance, of the French and British fleets respectively at the present moment is not based upon an engagement to co-operate in war.

You have, however, pointed out that, if either Government had grave reason to expect an unprovoked attack by a third Power, it might become essential to know whether it could in that event depend upon the armed assistance of the other.

I agree that, if either Government had grave reasons to expect an unprovoked attack by a third Power, or something that threatened the general peace, it should immediately discuss with the other whether both Governments should act together to prevent aggression and to preserve peace, and, if so, what measures they would be prepared to take in common. If these measures involved action, the plans of the General Staffs would at once be taken into consideration, and the Governments would then decide what effect should be given to them.

Yours, &c.,

E. GREY.

M. CAMBON TO SIR EDWARD GREY
(Translation)

French Embassy, London, Nov. 23, 1912.

Dear Sir Edward:—You reminded me in your letter of yesterday, November 22d, that during the last few years the military and naval authorities of France and Great Britain had consulted with each other from time to time; that it had always been understood that these consultations should not restrict the liberty of either Government to decide in the future whether they should lend each other the support of their armed forces; that, on either side, these consultations between experts were not and should not be considered as engagements binding our Governments to take action in certain eventualities; that, however, I had remarked to you that, if one or other of the two Governments had grave reasons to fear an unprovoked attack on the part of a third power, it would become essential to know whether it could count on the armed support of the other.

Your letter answers that point, and I am authorized to state that, in the event of one of our two Governments having grave reasons to fear either an attack from a third power, or some event threatening the general peace, that Government would immediately examine with the other the question whether both Governments should act together in order to prevent aggression or preserve peace. If so, the two Governments would deliberate as to the measures which they would be prepared to take in common. If those measures involved action the two Governments would take into immediate consideration the plans of their General Staffs and would then decide as to the effect to be given to those plans.

Yours, &c., PAUL CAMBON.

In the House of Commons the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs referred to France amid the applause of the members in the highest and warmest terms, and his language has deeply impressed all French hearts.

From this tribune I wish, in the name of the government of the Republic, to thank the English government for the cordiality of its words, and I know the French Parliament is one with me in the expression of this sentiment.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has in particular made the following declaration:

In case the German fleet should cross the channel or move up into the North Sea or pass around the British Isles, for the purpose of attacking the French coasts or the French war fleet and to harass the French merchant marine, the English fleet will intervene and give her entire protection to the French marine, so that from that moment England and Germany would be at war.

Hence the English fleet covers our northern and western coasts against German aggression.

Gentlemen: those are the facts; I believe that in their rigorous succession they are sufficient to justify the acts of the government of the Republic.

From this recital I wish, however, to draw a conclusion and give the real meaning of the unheard-of aggression to which France has fallen victim.

Do you know that at various times the victors of 1870 have desired to follow up the blows they dealt us at that time? The war intended to overwhelm defeated France was in 1875 prevented only by the intervention of the two powers to which we were later to be bound by ties of alliance and friendship, by the intervention of Russia and by that of Great Britain.

Ever since, by the restoration of the national vigor and the consummation of diplomatic agreements invariably lived up to, the French Republic has succeeded in liberating itself from the yoke which even in time of peace Bismarck had placed upon Europe.

It has reestablished the European balance, the guarantee of the liberty and dignity of each nation.

Gentlemen: I do not know whether I am mistaken in my estimate of the situation, but it seems to me that this work of pacific rehabilitation, of liberation, and of dignity, definitely sealed in 1904 and 1907 with the genial help of King Edward VII, of England, and of the government of the Crown, it seems to me it is that which the German Empire now seeks to destroy by one audacious blow.

There is nothing in this situation for which Germany can blame us.

For the sake of peace we have made an unprecedented sacrifice by bearing in silence for half a century the open wound made by her in our side.

We have made still other sacrifices in all the discussions which since

1904 the Imperial diplomacy has systematically provoked, either in Morocco or elsewhere, in 1905 as well as in 1906, in 1908 and in 1911.

At the time of the events of 1908, as well as in the present crisis, Russia also has given proof of great moderation. She, together with the Triple, Entente, has shown great moderation when, in the Eastern crisis of 1912, Austria and Germany made unwarranted demands upon Serbia and upon Greece, as has been proven by the events themselves.

But the sacrifices have proved useless, the compromises, futile; the efforts, idle; since now, while engaged in acts of conciliation, we and our allies are unexpectedly attacked.

No one can in good faith say that we were the aggressors; it is an effort spent in vain to try to obscure the sacred principles of right and of liberty that govern both nations and individuals: with the clear perception of the Latin genius, Italy has informed us that she means to remain neutral.

Throughout France this decision is met with an expression of sincerest joy. I have constituted myself the spokesman to the Italian Chargé d' Affaires, by telling him how much I rejoiced because the two sister nations of the same origin and the same ideals, with a common glorious past, were not to be opposed to one another. Gentlemen, I wish to affirm most plainly that what Germany attacks is that independence, that dignity, that security which the Triple Entente has again found in that balance of power which it placed at the service of peace.

What Germany attacks is those liberties of Europe, of which France, her allies, and her friends are proud to be the defenders.

We are going to defend these liberties; for it is they that are at stake and all the rest has been but a pretext.

France unjustly challenged, has not sought this war. She has done all in her power to prevent it. But, being forced upon her, France will defend herself against Germany and against any other power which, not yet having made known its position in this crisis, should decide to take its place with the latter in the conflict between the two. A people free and strong, upholding century-old ideals and marshalling its forces to safeguard its existence; a democracy that has been able to develop its military strength, and that only this past year did not shrink from shouldering the additional burdens forced on us to meet the armaments of our neighbor; a nation in arms, fighting for its very life, for the independence of Europe, those are some of the elements of the spectacle that we feel honored to lay before the witnesses of this formidable struggle, for which preparations are under way and the result of which we face with absolute equanimity.

We are blameless. We are without fear.

Under less favorable conditions, France has repeatedly proven that she is a most redoubtable adversary when she prepares, as she is now doing, to fight in behalf of liberty and of right.

In laying our acts before you, you gentlemen who are our judges, we have on our side, that which will help us to bear the burden of our great responsibility, the consolation of a clear conscience and the feeling of certitude that we have well performed our duty.

III

OFFICIAL JAPANESE DOCUMENTS

I

THE IMPERIAL RESCRIPT ISSUED AT TOKIO, AUGUST 23, 1914, 6 P.M.

We, by the grace of Heaven, Emperor of Japan, seated on the Throne occupied by the same Dynasty from time immemorial, do hereby make the following Proclamation to all Our loyal and brave subjects:

We hereby declare war against Germany and We command Our Army and Navy to carry on hostilities against that Empire with all their strength, and We also command all Our competent authorities to make every effort, in pursuance of their respective duties to attain the national aim by all means within the limits of the law of nations.

Since the outbreak of the present war in Europe, calamitous effect of which We view with grave concern, We on our part have entertained hopes of preserving peace of the Far East by the maintenance of strict neutrality, but the action of Germany has at length compelled Great Britain, Our Ally, to open hostilities against that country, and Germany is at Kiaochou, its leased territory in China, busy with warlike preparations, while its armed vessels cruising seas of Eastern Asia are threatening Our commerce and that of Our Ally. Peace of the Far East is thus in jeopardy.

Accordingly, Our Government and that of His Britannic Majesty, after full and frank communication with each other, agreed to take such measures as may be necessary for the protection of the general interests, contemplated in the Agreement of Alliance and We on Our part being desirous to attain that object by peaceful means commended Our Government to offer with sincerity an advice to the Imperial German Government. By the last day appointed for the purpose, however, Our Government failed to receive an answer accepting their advice. It is with profound regret that We, in spite of Our ardent devotion to the cause of peace, are thus compelled to declare war, especially at this early period of Our reign and while we are still in mourning for Our lamented Mother.

It is Our earnest wish that by the loyalty and valor of Our faithful subjects, peace may soon be restored and the glory of the Empire be enhanced.

II

AGREEMENT OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND JAPAN, SIGNED AT LONDON, JULY 13, 1911.

PREAMBLE

The Government of Great Britain and the Government of Japan, having in view the important changes which have taken place in the situation since the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese agreement of the 12th August, 1905, and believing that a revision of that agreement responding to such changes would contribute to general stability and repose, have agreed upon the following stipulations to replace the agreement above mentioned, such stipulations having the same object as the said agreement, namely:

(a) The consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India;

(b) The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China;

(c) The maintenance of the territorial rights of the high contracting parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India, and the defense of their special interests in the said regions:—

ARTICLE I

It is agreed that whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, any of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble of this agreement are in jeopardy, the two governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly, and will consider in common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights or interests.

ARTICLE II

If by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action, wherever arising, on the part of any Power or Powers, either high contracting party should be involved in war in defence of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this agreement, the other high contracting party will at once come to the assistance of its ally, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

ARTICLE III

The high contracting parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the objects described in the preamble of this agreement.

ARTICLE IV

Should either high contracting party conclude a treaty of general arbitration with a third Power, it is agreed that nothing in this agreement shall entail upon such contracting party an obligation to go to war with the Power with whom such treaty of arbitration is in force.

ARTICLE V

The conditions under which armed assistance shall be afforded by either Power to the other in the circumstances mentioned in the present agreement, and the means by which such assistance is to be made available, will be arranged by the naval and military authorities of the high contracting parties, who will from time to time consult one another fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest.

ARTICLE VI

The present agreement shall come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force ten years from that date.

In case neither of the high contracting parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said ten years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the high contracting parties shall have denounced it. But if, when the date fixed for its expiration arrives, either ally is actually engaged in war, the alliance shall, *ipso facto*, continue until peace is concluded.

In faith whereof the undersigned, duly authorized by their respective governments, have signed this agreement, and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate at London, the 13th day of July, 1911.

E. GREY,

His Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of
State for Foreign Affairs.

TAKAAKI KATO,

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of
His Majesty the Emperor of Japan at the
Court of St. James.

III

TELEGRAM DESPATCHED BY THE IMPERIAL JAPANESE GOVERNMENT TO THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES AD INTERIM AT BERLIN ON AUGUST 15, 1914.

"You are hereby instructed to address to Herr von Jagow immediately on receipt of this telegram a signed note to the following effect:

The undersigned Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan has the honor in pursuance of instructions from his Government to communicate to His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the German Emperor to the following effect:—

Considering it highly important and necessary in the present situation to take measures to remove all causes of disturbance to the peace of the Far East and to safeguard the general interests contemplated by the Agreement of Alliance between Japan and Great Britain in order to secure a firm and enduring peace in Eastern Asia which is the aim of the said agreement the Imperial Japanese Government sincerely believe it their duty to give advice to the Imperial German Government to carry out the following two propositions:

First—To withdraw immediately from the Japanese and Chinese waters German men-of-war and armed vessels of all kinds and to disarm at once those which cannot be so withdrawn;

Second—To deliver on a date not later than September 15, 1914 to the Imperial Japanese authorities without condition or compensation the entire leased territory of Kiaochou with a view to eventual restoration of the same to China.

The Imperial Japanese Government announce at the same time that in the event of their not receiving by noon August 23rd, 1914, the answer of the Imperial German Government signifying unconditional acceptance of the above advice offered by the Imperial Japanese Government they will be compelled to take such action as they may deem necessary to meet the situation.

The undersigned, etc."

IV

ADDRESS OF THE JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER TO THE IMPERIAL DIET, SEPTEMBER, 5 1914.

Following is the text of Baron Kato's speech on foreign affairs to the Imperial Diet yesterday:—

Gentlemen, I esteem it an honor to be allowed to give you here in this House a brief review of the progress of events which led to war between Japan and Germany, with consequent termination of diplomatic relations between Japan and Austria-Hungary.

As you are well aware the present war in Europe originated in the Servo-Austro-Hungarian affair. On July 28th last Austria-Hungary declared war against Serbia and the same day the Austro-Hungarian Government, in a note verbale, communicated that fact to the Japanese Ambassador at Vienna.

Previous to this event Russia ordered a partial mobilization of her army for the purpose of restraining the action of Austria-Hungary, to which the latter responded with counter mobilization on her part. A critical situation was thus brought forth upon the relations of several Powers. Hereupon Great Britain proposed a conference of four Powers, namely, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy, with a view to pacific settlement of the situation. But the British efforts were not successful. In the meantime Austria-Hungary ordered the mobilization of her entire military forces, thus compelling Russia to make more extended preparations. On July 31st the German Government communicated to the Russian Government that unless Russia would stop her military activities by noon August 1st Germany would order a general mobilization and on the following day the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg, in the name of his Government, advised the Russian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs that war was declared, whereupon Russia on her part declared war on Germany the following day.

On the other hand Germany which since July 31st had been showing military activities also on the Franco-German frontier, recalled her Ambassador in France. This compelled France to order mobilization and recall her Ambassador in Germany. The two States thus entered upon a state of war.

Furthermore Germany not only violated the neutrality of Luxemburg, but sent an ultimatum to Belgium demanding in disregard of her neutrality to facilitate German military operations. Great Britain, which has a very strong interest in Belgian neutrality, asked both the French and the German Governments whether they would respect the neutrality of that Kingdom. France replied that she was prepared to do so unless another Power violated that neutrality. But Germany refused to give that guarantee. It was under force of these circumstances that Great Britain decided at length to take part in the European war on the side of France and Russia.

The above is a résumé of the situation arising first from the Servo-Austro-Hungarian dispute and eventuating in the present war with Germany and Austria-Hungary on one side and Russia, France and Great Britain on the other.

Realizing from the outset the gravity of the European situation thus created the Imperial Government felt it necessary to make known the attitude of Japan in regard to this situation, and as early as August 4th the Foreign Office issued the following statement:—

“The Imperial Government cannot but view with grave concern from both political and economical standpoints the latest aspect of the political situation in Europe. It need hardly be said that the Imperial Government earnestly hope for a speedy termination of strife and early restoration of peace. But unfortunately if the present war must continue, the Imperial Government hope that the sphere of the contest will not extend beyond the regions which are actually involved in the war, and so far the Imperial Government believe that they will be able to maintain an attitude of strict neutrality. It is necessary, however, that further development of the situation should be most closely watched. In the event of Great Britain becoming involved in the conflict and the object of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement of Alliance be at stake, Japan may take such measures as are necessary to fulfil her obligations under that Agreement. It cannot be predicted at present whether a time for such action may come or not. The Imperial Government, while earnestly hoping that no such occasion will arise, are nevertheless paying most careful attention to various aspects of the situation.”

It is plain from the foregoing statement that the Imperial Government from the outset earnestly hoped that the effect of the European war would not extend over to the Far East. As was related above, however, Great Britain was at last compelled to take part in the contest, and early in August the British Government asked the Imperial Government for assistance under the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement of Alliance. German men-of-war and armed vessels were then prowling the seas of Eastern Asia to the serious menace of our commerce and that of our Ally, while in Kiaochou, her leased territory in China, Germany was busy with warlike preparations, apparently with the purpose of making it the base of her warlike operations in Eastern Asia. Grave anxiety was thus felt as to the maintenance of the peace of the Far East.

As you all are aware the Agreement of Alliance between Japan and Great Britain has for its object, the consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in Eastern Asia, insuring the independence and integrity of China as well as the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in that country, and the maintenance and defence respectively of the territorial rights and of the special interests of the contracting parties in Eastern Asia. Therefore inasmuch as she is asked by her Ally for assistance at the time when the commerce in Eastern Asia, which Japan and Great Britain regard alike as one of their special interests, is subjected to constant menace, Japan, which regards that alliance as the guiding principle of her foreign policy, cannot but comply with such request and do her part. Besides in the opinion of the Government the possession by Germany, whose interests are opposed to those of the Anglo-Japanese

Alliance, of a base of her powerful activities in one corner of the Far East is not only a serious obstacle to the maintenance of permanent peace of Eastern Asia, but is also in conflict with the more immediate interests of our own Empire. The Government, therefore, resolved to comply with the British request and if necessary in doing so to open hostilities against Germany and after the Imperial sanction was obtained, they communicated this resolution to the British Government. Full and frank exchange of views between the two Governments followed and it was finally agreed between them to take such measures as may be necessary to protect the general interest contemplated by the Agreement of Alliance.

Japan had no desire or inclination to get herself involved in the present conflict. She only believed that she owed it to herself to be faithful to the Alliance and strengthen its foundation by ensuring the permanent peace of the East and by protecting the special interests of our two allied Powers. Desiring, however, to solve the situation by pacific means, the Imperial Government gave on August 15th the following advice to the German Government:

"Considering it highly important and necessary, in the present situation, to take measures to remove all causes of disturbance to the peace of the Far East and to safeguard the general interests contemplated by the Agreement of Alliance between Japan and Great Britain, in order to secure a firm and enduring peace in Eastern Asia, establishment of which is the aim of the said Agreement, the Imperial Japanese Government sincerely believe it their duty to give advice to the Imperial German Government to carry out the following two propositions:—

"1st. To withdraw immediately from the Japanese and Chinese waters German men-of-war and armed vessels of all kinds, and to disarm at once those which cannot be so withdrawn.

"2nd. To deliver on a date not later than September 15, 1914, to the Imperial Japanese Authorities, without condition or compensation, the entire leased territory of Kiao-chow with a view to eventual restoration of same to China.

"The Imperial Japanese Government announce, at the same time, that, in the event of their not receiving by noon August 23, 1914 the answer of the Imperial German Government signifying an unconditional acceptance of the above advice offered by the Imperial Japanese Government, they will be compelled to take such action as they may deem necessary to meet the situation."

But until the last moment of the time allowed for the purpose, namely, noon August 23rd, the Imperial Government received no answer from the German Government. Thus the two countries having unfortunately entered upon a state of war, the Imperial Rescript declaring war on Germany was issued the same day.

As for Austria-Hungary, which has only very limited interests in the Far East, Japan desired to maintain peaceful relations with it as long as possible for in spite of the fact that the present trouble originated in the affair between that country and Servia, Japan's position in relation thereto, was naturally different from that of other Powers of Europe. At the same

time it appeared as if Austria-Hungary had also desired to avoid complications with Japan. In fact, as soon as Japan and Germany entered upon a state of war, the Austro-Hungarian Government asked for the consents and good offices of the Imperial Government for permitting the Kaiserin Elizabeth, their only man-of-war in the Far East likely to force a state of war upon Japan and Austria-Hungary, to go to Shanghai to be disarmed there. But Great Britain being already at war with Austria-Hungary, the Imperial Government had to consult with the British Government before coming to any decision on this matter. The Imperial Government, therefore, consulted with the British Government and having ascertained that the latter entertained no particular objection to Japan's acceding to the Austro-Hungarian request, I was about to communicate that fact to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, when all of a sudden on August 27 the said Ambassador informed me that in consideration of Japan's action against Germany, his Government instructed him to leave his post. Hereupon the Imperial Government immediately handed passports to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador and at the same time instructed His Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna to withdraw from his post. Diplomatic relations between Japan and Austria-Hungary were thus broken off.

The above is the résumé of the situation which led to war between Japan and Germany and to consequent rupture of diplomatic relations of Japan with Austria-Hungary.

I cannot close my speech without a word on the courtesy which the American Government were good enough to extend to the Imperial Government in connection with the present trouble.

When the relations between Japan and Germany reached a point of rupture, the Imperial Government asked the American Government if in case of need they would be good enough to undertake the protection of Japanese subjects and interests in Germany. This request the American Government promptly complied with. Subsequently upon the rupture of diplomatic relations between Japan and Austria-Hungary, the Imperial Government again appealed to the American Government for the protection of Japanese subjects and interests in Austria-Hungary and were given the same willing consent as before. I desire to avail myself of this opportunity to give an expression to the sincere appreciation on the part of the Imperial Government of the courtesy so kindly extended by the American Government.

While regretting that Japan was compelled to take up arms against Germany, I am happy to believe that the army and navy of our illustrious Sovereign will not fail to show the same loyalty and valor with which they distinguished themselves in the past, so that we all may be blessed with an early restoration of peace.

IV

ADDRESSES TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE

Out of the depths of my heart I thank you for this expression of your love and your fidelity. During the conflict we are about to enter upon, I shall no longer distinguish political parties among my people. We are one and all Germans. And whatsoever parties have, in the heat of debate, turned upon me, I forgive. It is a question now solely of standing together like brothers, then God will help the German sword to victory.—KAISER WILHELM on August 1, 1914, from the balcony of the Berlin Palace.

To the German People!

Since the founding of the Empire, during a period of 43 years, it has been my zealous endeavor and the endeavor of my ancestors to preserve peace to the world and in peace to promote our vigorous development. But our enemies envy us the success of our toil. All professed and secret hostility from East and West and from beyond the sea, we have till now borne in the consciousness of our responsibility and power. Now, however, our opponents desire to humble us. They demand that we look on with folded arms while our enemies girt themselves for treacherous attack. They will not tolerate that we support our ally with unshaken loyalty, who fights for its prestige as a great power, and with whose abasement our power and honor are likewise lost. Therefore the sword must decide. In the midst of peace the world attacks us. Therefore up! To arms! All hesitation, all delay were treachery to the Fatherland. It is a question of the existence or non-existence of the Empire which our fathers founded anew. It is the question of the existence or the non-existence of German might and German culture. We shall defend ourselves to the last breath of man and beast. And we shall survive this fight, even though it were against a world of enemies. Never yet was Germany conquered when she was united. Then forward march with God! He will be with us as He was with our fathers.

WILHELM,
I. R.

BERLIN, August 6, 1914.

ERRATUM

In Document No. 83, page 113, Annex II, the Confidential Communication of the Imperial Chancellor to the Confederated Governments of Germany was dated July 23. It has been pointed out that the original *Vorläufige Denkschrift und Aktenstücke zum Kriegausbruch*, which had not been received when the material was set up, is dated July 28. To avoid possible misapprehension and consequent injustice the error is herewith brought to the attention of the readers of INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION.

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